

Teacher Image in Latvian Primary School Textbooks

Baiba Kalķe

Abstract. Today, mass media is the most important creator of public opinion, and school textbooks are part of this. On the one hand, textbooks form student attitudes towards the learning process, and the teacher is the key figure. On the other hand, textbooks are a historic source that depicts pedagogical practices of any given era. The purpose of this study is to determine how the teacher is pictured in primary school textbooks in Latvia during the transition period from authoritarianism to democracy. My sources were 30 textbooks in which the teacher was identified in 28 images and 36 texts. Teacher images were studied using the following: gender, age, body type, hairstyle, clothing, footwear, accessories, facial expressions, gestures, activities, and personality traits. Teacher image in textbooks is not showy, most likely to adhere to stereotypes cultivated by the middle class for whom modesty is an important moral virtue. No changes were observed in the professional activities of teachers under democracy requirements, i.e., teachers did not cooperate with pupils during the study process. This research demonstrates that teacher images depicted in primary school textbooks have not radically changed since the Soviet dictatorship, indicating that it is not likely that radical changes in teaching practices occurred.

Keywords: teacher image, textbook, primary school

Introduction

Since the 1990s, massive changes have taken place in Latvia, altering completely the social, political, and economic structure of society. Within the context of general reforms, change was expected in education as well: transition from passive to active students in the pedagogical process, authoritarian to democratic teachers, reproductive action to creative activity, control to supervision and evaluation, and administration to management.¹ In line with the shift of the pedagogical paradigm, the Latvian teacher was also expected to change.

There are many phenomena in the world that influence perception, thinking processes, viewpoints, and behaviours. Today, mass media is one of the most important creators of public opinion: “Mass media becomes a medium when it starts telling stories, and these narratives become especially influential when we can relate our interests, needs, and moral narratives with these stories. Mass media is a magnifying glass that expands the borders of our imagination,

¹ S. E. Fjelds, *No parlamenta līdz klasei. Ceļš no likumdošanas līdz labai skolai* [From parliament to classroom. Road from legislation to a good school], Rīga, Rīgas pilsētas Skolu valde, 1998, p. 58.

provides new insights on the dominant culture, and offers understanding of good education, its modern content and vision.”² Various lifestyles and cultural artefacts important to social groups are transferred with the help of media. Mass media is the creator of identity, and it also acts as an identity’s “voice”. The most important media at school is the textbook.

Textbooks, as media, have no feedback from the student: they are capable only of one-way communication. The recipient of information transmitted through this media is passive. Passivity is expressed in that the student is not able to impact the content and form of the information. Information transmitted through textbooks is a ready, finished product.³ Textbooks form student attitudes towards the study process and the teacher as its key figure, but textbooks are also a source of history, reflecting pedagogical practices of a particular era. The purpose of this study is to determine what is the image of the teacher depicted in primary school textbooks in Latvia during the “new era” from 1991 to 2004.

My research sources were 30 primary school textbooks published in Riga from 1986 (several textbooks were prepared under Soviet rule, but republished in independent Latvia) until 2004. After 1991, textbooks for particular subjects and educational levels were usually developed by one author or a group of authors; for example, Latvian language textbooks were compiled under the supervision of Zenta Anspoka. Therefore, to a large extent, the values expressed in textbooks of this period were dependent on a small number of authors, including illustrators. The perceptions of these people could directly influence the users of these books – students.

For the most part, we can find images of the teacher in Latvian language and maths books through pictures (drawings and photos) and text (excerpts from literature, anecdotes, exercises, various examples related to language studies). In 30 textbooks, the teacher was identified in 28 images (7 of them photos) and 36 text excerpts.

Studies of the visual image of the teacher reveal the author’s perception of the person; the researcher also interprets this information. Understanding and explaining the image of teacher can be a complicated process that is possible to do from various perspectives and in different contexts.⁴ At first, the textbooks speak to students with the help of images – first they “see” the teacher. Gasparini and Vick state that understanding a visual image requires the same type of

² S. Austruma, ‘Masu mediju patērnieciskie naratīvi mācību saturā’ [Mass media narratives of consumerism in the study content], in *Latvijas Universitātes raksti. Pedagoģija un skolotāju izglītība* [Scientific papers University of Latvia. Pedagogy and teacher education], Rīga, Latvijas Universitāte, 2012, p. 52.

³ A. Krūmiņa, Z. Rubene, *Ievads mediju pedagoģijā* [Introduction to media pedagogy], Rīga, Raka, 2008, p. 207.

⁴ I. Ķestere, B. Kaļķe, ‘Latvijas skolotāju vizuālais tēls Eiropas skolēnu perspektīvā’ [Visual image of Latvian teachers from the perspective of European students], *Latvijas Zinātņu Akadēmijas Vēstis* [News of the Latvian Academy of Science], no. 1/2, 2014, p. 57.

literacy skills as reading written text.⁵ As an image, the teacher is presented in textbooks through various types of text, which I analysed considering Mahamud's recommendations in the study of school textbooks.⁶ I also refer to Marshall⁷ and Rousmeniere⁸ on visual sources and Weber and Mitchell about teacher image.⁹ Quantitative and qualitative components of teacher image developed by Novoa¹⁰ and Vick¹¹ were considered, as well as the studies of Latvian authors on teacher image.¹²

Characteristics of the visual image of the teacher

General image of teacher. Gender. In total, teachers are mentioned in primary school textbooks 64 times: in 51 cases, they are female (79.7%), in 7 – male (10.9%), unspecified gender twice (3.1%), once the teacher is a child (1.6%), and three times teachers are presented as animals (4.7%). Images of animals in textbooks come from metaphoric meanings from Latvian folklore: sheep – naive, not clever or smart and the ram – stubborn and obstinate. It is difficult to say why these animals were chosen specifically to demonstrate the image of a teacher. It is doubtful these depict the image of the teacher of the “new era”.

The teacher in primary school textbooks is predominantly a woman. In this case, textbooks reflect statistical reality as in 1997/1998, 86% of general education teachers in Latvia were women.¹³ This percentage was even higher in primary schools.

⁵ F. Gasparini, M. Vick, 'Picturing the History of Teacher Education: Photographs and Methodology', *History of Educational Review*, vol. 35, no. 2, 2006, p. 17.

⁶ K. Mahamud, 'Contexts, Texts, and Representativeness,' in Knecht, et al. (eds.), *Methodologie und Methoden der Schulbuch- und Lehrmittelforschung*, Bad Heilbrunn, Klinkhardt, 2014, pp. 31-49.

⁷ J. Marshall, 'Image as Insight: Visual Images in Practice-based Research,' *Studies in Art Education*, vol. 49, no. 1, 2007, pp. 23-41.

⁸ K. Rousmaniere, 'Questioning the Visual in the History of Education,' *History of Education*, vol. 30, no. 2, 2001, pp. 109-116.

⁹ S. Weber, C. Mitchell, *That's Funny, You Don't Look Like a Teacher: Interrogating Images and Identity in Popular Culture*, London, The Falmer Press, 1995, p. 156.

¹⁰ A. Novoa, 'Ways of Saying, Ways of Seeing: (19th-20th centuries),' *Paedagogica Historica*, vol. 36, no. 1, 2000, pp. 21-52.

¹¹ M. Vick, 'What Does a Teacher Look Like?,' *Paedagogica Historica*, vol. 36, no. 1, 2000, pp. 247-362.

¹² I. Kestere, R. Lozano, C. Wolhuter (eds.), *The Visual Image of the Teacher: International Comparative Perspectives*, Rīga, RaKa, 2012; I. Kestere, B. Kalķe, 'The Visual Image of the Teachers: A Ten-Country Perspective,' *Revista Colombiana de Educación*, vol. 1, no. 68, 2015, pp. 19-40; I. Kestere, B. Kalķe, 'Controlling the Image of the Teacher Body under Authoritarianism: The Case of Soviet Latvia (1953-1984),' *Paedagogica Historica*, vol. 54, no. 1-2, 2018, pp. 184-203; B. Kalķe, R. Brālis, 'Skolotāja tēls 19.gs. otrajā pusē latviešu prozā' [Teacher image in the Latvian fiction of the second half of 19th century], *ATEE Spring University 'Teacher of the 21st century: quality education for quality teaching'*, Rīga, Latvijas Universitāte, 2010, pp. 560-568.

¹³ 'Centrālās statistikas pārvaldes datubāze' [Data base of Central Statistical Bureau]. Available: http://data1.csb.gov.lv/pxweb/lv/sociala/sociala__izgl__vispskolas/IZG190.px/ (accessed 10 September 2019).

Male teachers pictured in textbooks are mostly characters from excerpts from memoirs of classical Latvian authors. The teachers depicted are from the 19th century when female pedagogues were a rarity.¹⁴ Male teacher images depicted the head of the teacher seminar and school principals, decision makers in education, thus clearly indicating gender preference. Only two male teachers depicted in the textbooks are involved in modern pedagogical processes in the class.

Age. The average age of teachers in Latvia increased during this period: most teachers were between 40 and 60 years old – 64%; only 8% are below 30.¹⁵ The majority of textbooks pictured teachers as middle-aged, thus reflecting reality. Three teacher images are young – up to 30 years. One teacher was identified as elderly, indicated by gray hair.

Textbooks indicate stereotypes about young, inexperienced teachers who “don’t know how to teach yet”. But after regaining independence, younger teachers were exactly those who were able to implement changes in education more successfully. In their work, based on new educational requirements, young teachers were able to implement changes in the role of pedagogues and students by supporting new teaching and upbringing methods, applying a ‘child-centered’ approach, and sharing responsibility for student achievements.

Clothing and body. The appearance of teachers in this study was analysed using only drawings and pictures.

Teachers are usually slim; only one teacher was depicted as overweight. All male teachers are dressed in dark suits (gray, green, or brown), but female teachers wear colourful clothes. Of course, we must consider the development of 21st century printing techniques that contributed to improved quality and colourful images. Most frequently, female teachers wear dresses or blouses/jackets/sweaters/blazers with skirts. None of the female teachers wear pants. Therefore, we could say that their femininity was emphasised. A formal style prevailed, but it was not always a classic suit in dark colours. Illustrators chose to depict teachers in bright colours – various shades of purple are very popular followed by red, green, yellow, blue, and brown. Teachers never wear black (except in black and white images).

A colorful appearance may create a positive attitude in younger pupils (7-11 years) towards the teacher, but on the other hand, these images can distract from the educational messages coded in the textbook. Indirect attention is still very important for this age group.¹⁶

¹⁴ Z. Ivana, D. Urbanoviča, *Latviešu valoda 3. klasei*, 1.daļa [Latvian language for the 3rd grade, vol. 1], Rīga, RaKa, 2000, p. 14.

¹⁵ V. Anstrate, ‘OECD: Latvijā liels sieviešu un gados vecāku skolotāju īpatsvars’ [OECD: amongst Latvian teachers women and elderly teachers are prevailing], *Latvijas Sabiedriskie Mediji* [Public broadcasting of Latvia], 16 September 2016. Available: <https://www.lsm.lv/raksts/zinas/latvija/oecd-latvija-liels-sieviesu-un-gados-vecaku-skolotaju-ipatsvars.a201118/> (accessed 20 September 2019).

¹⁶ Ž. Piažē, *Bērna intelektuālā attīstība* [Intellectual development of the child], Rīga, Pētergailis, 2002, p. 318.

Shoes. Footwear is rarely shown (only 5 times) and shoes are not as colourful as clothing, mostly brown or black. Male teachers wear dark brown shoes with laces, female teachers – pumps with a low or slightly raised heel.

Two images from a first-grade math book are interesting: in the first and second images, pupils wear identical clothes but the teacher's shoes change from yellow to red.¹⁷ Why did the teacher change shoes? If the task in the text was to find differences, then this would be understandable, that the task at hand was learning cardinal and ordinal numerals.

Hair. The length of teachers' hair is definitely short (chin length), but hair colour differed – mainly shades of brown, but also auburn, blonde, and gray. Male teachers' hair is also short: in two images ascending from the forehead, apparently to emphasise that teacher is an elderly person. All teachers have neat hairstyles. A study of 15-year-old student perceptions of the typical teacher indicated that teachers mostly had a standard “bun” hairstyle,¹⁸ but we did not find this image in any of the textbooks.

We can conclude that hairstyles are casual and teachers do not create an individual style.

Accessories and jewelry. Accessories symbolise the professional activities of teachers. If we compare the image of teachers in Soviet times,¹⁹ specific changes are not visible in the use of accessories or jewelry. However, the “new era” teacher holds a book, sheets of paper or a folder, or a pen or pencil (red pen in one image). These accessories emphasised the teacher's main activities – teaching (as we can see, teaching by the book), evaluation, and control.

Wearing a watch emphasises the punctuality of the teacher. An exercise in the textbook in which the teacher needs to tell what time it is shows that teachers should definitely wear a watch.²⁰ An anecdote in the Latvian language book for 4th grade says: “What is your favorite subject at school?’ Auntie asks Robert. ‘The teacher's watch.’”²¹ This anecdote makes one believe that lessons at school were boring.

Glasses are traditionally the symbol of the teaching profession, indicating both wisdom and also long hours spent correcting students' work. One third (31%) of 15-year-old respondents named glasses as a traditional teacher

¹⁷ J. Mencis (sen.), et al., *Matemātika 1. klasei* [Mathematics for the 1st grade], Rīga, Zvaigzne ABC, 2001, p. 33.

¹⁸ I. Kestere, B. Kalķe, ‘Latvijas skolotāju vizuālais tēls Eiropas skolēnu perspektīvā’ [Visual image of the teacher of Latvia from the perspective of the European students], *Latvijas Zinātņu Akadēmijas Vēstis* [News of the Latvian Academy of Science], no.1/2, 2014, pp. 55-68.

¹⁹ I. Kestere, B. Kalķe, ‘Obraz ucitelja v sovetsoj Latvii 1945–1985: ideal protiv realnostji?’ [Teacher image in the school of Soviet Latvia 1945–1985: ideal against reality?], in V. G. Bezrogov, T. S. Makarova (eds.), *Dorogoj drug: Socialniji modeli i normi v ucjebnoi literaturi 1900–2000 godov (istoriko-pedagogiceskoje issledovanije)* [Dear friend: social models and norms in the textbooks of 1900–2000 (studies in history of pedagogy)], Moskva, Pamjatniki istoriceskoi mislji, 2016, pp. 49-66.

²⁰ V. Dirnēna, et al., *Ar gudru ziņu* [Bringing a smart message], Rīga, RaKa, 2004, p. 9.

²¹ G. Andersone, Ā. Ptičkina, *Zīle. Latviešu valoda 4. klasei* [Acorn. Latvian language for the 4th grade], Rīga, Zvaigzne ABC, 2002, p. 216.

accessory,²² but in textbook images, we found only two female and two male teachers wearing glasses. Perhaps, the illustrators tried to avoid stereotypes.

We can affirm that teacher clothing is simple, without adornment or jewelry. A scarf was added to the outfit of only one teacher. Several teachers had white collars; for example, a yellow sweater or green blazer with a white collar. Jewelry that demonstrates the individuality of the person does not appear. The Soviet period was similar in this case.²³ Perhaps because images in textbooks are small, there simply was not enough space for small details. Another explanation could be the traditional perception that pedagogical competences and not pretentious jewelry adorn the teacher in the classroom, as the latter could distract the attention of pupils from the learning process.

Facial expressions, gestures. Students focus more on facial expressions and gestures than words because non-verbal communication supplies not only information but also emotions. Teachers can express positive attitudes and joy with a smile, which should be an everyday emotion in the democratic school. Yet in textbooks, teachers smile in only six images. In one illustration, a smile is probably not the most suitable facial expression as the text speaks of classroom repair costs. In the majority of cases, teachers have a neutral facial expression, even as the pupil is telling the teacher about his toothache. Facial expressions do not indicate that teachers are especially interested in the child, in spite of the stress on cooperation in the “new era”. But we must remember that images in textbooks are created by artists to demonstrate their professional skills.

Gestures of teachers in textbooks can be indicative, for example when a teacher points to a picture or blackboard, or they can be closed gestures with crossed arms or seated with hands in the lap. Some images accentuate the text. In the poem *So it happened* in a 2nd grade Latvian language textbook describes how a pupil was left for detention by the teacher and locked in the classroom, forgotten. The picture shows a terrified teacher – scared facial expression and hand by mouth in horror.²⁴ Another surprised face of a teacher is shown when the grandmother appears at school instead of the granddaughter.

Images reflecting the teacher’s personality

Activity. As expected, classroom teaching is the main activity of teachers, rarely extracurricular activities. The images show teachers indicating,

²² B. Kalķe, ‘The Visual Image of the Teacher in Latvia,’ in I. Kestere, R. Lozano, C. Wolhuter (eds.), *The Visual Image of the Teacher. International Comparative Perspectives*, Rīga, RaKa, 2012, p. 113.

²³ I. Kestere, B. Kalķe, ‘Obraz ucitelja v sovjetskoj Latvii 1945–1985: ideal protiv realnostji?’ [Teacher image in the school of Soviet Latvia 1945–1985: ideal against reality?], in V. G. Bezrogov, T. S. Makarova (eds.), *Dorogoj drug: Socialniji modelji i normi v ucjebnoi literaturi 1900–2000 godov (istoriko-pedagogiceskoje issledovanije)* [Dear friend: social models and norms in the textbooks of 1900–2000 (studies in history of pedagogy)], Moskva, Pamjatniki istoriceskoj mislji, 2016, pp. 49–66.

²⁴ G. Andersone, et al., *Zīle. Latviešu valoda 2. klasei* [Acorn. Latvian language for the 2nd grade], Rīga, Zvaigzne ABC, 2000, p. 19.

demonstrating, standing by the blackboard, sitting at the teacher's desk, observing the class, or listening to the answers of pupils. Only a few teachers are pictured together with their students.

If we judge the tasks of teachers from math textbooks only, then the main teaching activity is to supply pupils with various things: in a word exercise, for example, we read that a teacher hands out pencils.

In textbooks, classroom life is frequently demonstrated without the teacher, class photos and class descriptions without the teacher,²⁵ but as soon as text is devoted to teaching/learning issues, the teacher appears in descriptions and images. We can conclude that pupils are not able to study independently, which is, again, a depiction of a specific stereotype. An exception is in a math text where children are given a task to develop a project without the presence of teacher.²⁶ It is possible to observe positive changes in the outward appearance of the teacher in comparison to textbooks published during the Soviet era,²⁷ but nothing has really changed in the professional activities of teachers. However, the situation in Latvia had changed and the human paradigm and child-centered focus has become part of the agenda in the educational field since 1991. The teacher is not depicted among children but stands in front of them, speaking or reading from a book without using technologies that were commonplace during the 1990s. Just as under Soviet rule, the teacher is the provider of information but pupils – recipients. The teacher is active but pupils – passive participants in the pedagogic process. Pedagogy depicted in textbooks is still focused on the subjects and is teacher-centered.

Nevertheless, the relationship between students and teachers outside the study process is different. Students and teachers are equal in some ways, such as taking the same bus to school.²⁸ Relationships are pictured as friendly; for example, pupils bring flowers to their teacher and come to the teacher's birthday party where she offers them cake.²⁹

Sometimes teachers are associated with mothers; for example, an exercise in the 3rd grade math book describes how pupils give daffodils to the teacher on Mother's Day.³⁰ But visually, the mother, even knitting at home in the evening,

²⁵ D. Ērgle, et al., *Zīle. Latviešu valoda 3. klasei* [Acorn. Latvian language for the 3rd grade], Rīga, Zvaigzne ABC, 2001, p. 244.

²⁶ J. Mencis (sen.), et al., *Matemātika 3. klasei*. [Mathematics for the 3rd grade], Rīga, Zvaigzne ABC, 1999, p. 166.

²⁷ I. Kestere, B. Kalķe, 'Obraz ucitelja v sovetskoj Latvii 1945–1985: ideal protiv realnostji?' [Teacher image in the school of Soviet Latvia 1945–1985: ideal against reality?], in V. G. Bezrogov, T. S. Makarova (eds.), *Dorogoj drug: Socialniji modelji i normi v ucjebnoi literaturi 1900–2000 godov (istoriko-pedagogiceskoje issledovanije)* [Dear friend: social models and norms in the textbooks of 1900–2000 (studies in history of pedagogy)], Moskva, Pamjatniki istoriceskoi mislji, 2016, pp. 49–66.

²⁸ J. Mencis (sen.), et al., *Matemātika 2. klasei* [Mathematics for the 2nd grade], Rīga, Zvaigzne ABC, 1998, p. 139.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

³⁰ J. Mencis (sen.), et al., *Matemātika 3. klasei*. [Mathematics for the 3rd grade], Rīga, Zvaigzne ABC, 1999, p. 107.

is better dressed than the teacher at her workplace: the mother is shown in a festive outfit with styled hair.³¹

Some textbooks focus special attention on the teacher's extra-curricular activities: when preparing for a hike, the teacher pours juice and water in a mug³² (again, the service function), but another teacher has taken children to the theater and stands at the back (perhaps establishing order?).³³ A teacher also describes her journey to India, revealing that she has a personal life.

There are two main activities for teachers in textbooks – teachers educate (give knowledge and information) and provide upbringing functions (teaches how to act in various life situations). A title in the textbook indicates the transitional times: “We can do everything together” and text indicates desirable cooperation between teachers and children: “you can play and eat and argue together”.³⁴ Unfortunately, the idea of cooperation is merely a pleasant exception in the total range of textbooks.

Character qualities. Character qualities and traits are barely depicted in excerpts of literary works published in textbooks. Two types of teachers prevail: nice or strict. In the sources I analysed, these two traits were mutually exclusive. School is characterised as a place with nice teachers.³⁵ Teachers frequently receive gifts “for no reason” because they are kind, responsive, nice, and helpful.³⁶ But the Latvian language book highlights the strictness of the teacher, asking students to repeat the expression ‘strict teacher’ 12 times, declining it both in singular and plural.³⁷ The teacher is also the one who requests students to complete difficult tasks: “Ansītis had difficult homework – write six names of edible things that rabbits don't like. Well, why did the teacher not ask to write things rabbits like?”³⁸ or the teacher asks Kārlis: “How much is half of seven?” Kārlis thinks: “If I say three – too little, if four – too much.”³⁹ The teacher is also characterised as the person who helps solve difficult problems: if the pupil does

³¹ G. Andersone, et al., *Zīle. Latviešu valoda 2. klasei* [Acorn. Latvian language for the 2nd grade], Rīga, Zvaigzne ABC, 2000, p. 19; Ā. Ptičkina, *Valodas gudribu grāmata* [Language wisdom book], Rīga, Zvaigzne ABC, 2000, p. 19.

³² J. Mencis (sen.), et al., *Matemātika 2. klasei* [Mathematics for the 2nd grade], Rīga, Zvaigzne ABC, 1998, p. 10.

³³ J. Mencis (sen.), et al., *Matemātika 1. klasei* [Mathematics for the 1st grade], Rīga, Zvaigzne ABC, 2001, p. 33.

³⁴ G. Andersone, et al., *Zīle. Latviešu valoda 2. klasei* [Acorn. Latvian language for the 2nd grade], Rīga, Zvaigzne ABC, 2000, pp. 13-14; Ā. Ptičkina, *Valodas gudribu grāmata* [Language wisdom book], Rīga, Zvaigzne ABC, 2000, pp. 13-14.

³⁵ G. Andersone, et al., *Mazā zīle. Latviešu valoda 1. klasei* [Small acorn. Latvian language for the 1st grade], Rīga, Zvaigzne ABC, 2004, p. 4.

³⁶ J. Mencis (sen.), et al., *Matemātika 3. klasei* [Mathematics for the 3rd grade], Rīga, Zvaigzne ABC, 1999, p. 107.

³⁷ G. Andersone, Ā. Ptičkina, *Zīle. 3. klasei. Valodas gudribu grāmata* [Language wisdom book], Rīga, Zvaigzne ABC, 2001, pp. 46-47.

³⁸ G. Andersone, et al., *Zīle. Latviešu valoda 2. klasei* [Acorn. Latvian language for the 2nd grade], Rīga, Zvaigzne ABC, 2000, p. 22.

³⁹ G. Andersone, Ā. Ptičkina, *Zīle. 3. klasei. Valodas gudribu grāmata* [Language wisdom book], Rīga, Zvaigzne ABC, 2001, p. 51.

not understand the task, textbook authors encourage students to seek help from the teacher.

Conclusion

The objective of my study was to clarify what kind of teacher Latvian primary school pupils can see in textbooks during the transition from authoritarian rule to democracy.

From a visual perspective, the teacher is a middle-aged women (complies with the actual situation in Latvian schools) who takes care of her external appearance. She is femininely dressed, in classic but colourful outfits – a blouse or sweater and skirt with matching shoes. Hair is neatly done. But the image of teacher is not striking, possibly to follow several middle-class stereotypes: 1) nothing should distract attention from studies; 2) modesty shows moral virtues; 3) and through external appearance, the teacher develops the esthetics of students and tasteful external appearance is modest.⁴⁰

Textbooks do not demonstrate changes in the professional activities of teachers as required by democracy in education. Teaching/learning still takes place from books and pupils study in classrooms at their desks, but teachers still stand in front of the classroom by the blackboard or teacher's desk, holding a book or pen. In regard to teaching aids, only the blackboard, globe, or map is shown. We do not see cooperation between the child and the teacher, an important task brought forward in pedagogy during the transition period. Nothing indicates shared responsibility or self-responsibility because teachers still do the controlling, guiding, and instructing and provide pupils with learning tools. This study shows that even in new political circumstances, pedagogical processes can reflect the reality of the previous political structure and corresponding concepts, values, and needs.⁴¹

Nevertheless, the teacher has become more humane and friendlier, as evidenced by her portrayal outside the formal learning environment and in informal relationships with pupils.

Education is an important building tool, and textbooks are important in this process. They show what is preferred and ideal and become the drivers of pedagogy. This study indicates that the teacher, as reflected in primary school textbooks, has not drastically changed, indicating that it is not likely that significant changes in school practice were introduced.

⁴⁰ I. Kestere, B. Kalķe, 'Controlling the Image of the Teacher's Body under Authoritarianism: The Case of Soviet Latvia (1953–1984)', *Paedagogica Historica*, vol. 54, no. 1-2, 2018, pp. 184-203.

⁴¹ G. Catlaks, 'Demokrātiskās pārmaiņas izglītībā; valsts izglītības politikas pārskats 1991–2001' [Democratic changes in education; state educational policy review 1991–2001], *Providus*, 20 November 2001. Available: <http://providus.lv/article/demokratiskas-parmainas-izglitiba-valsts-izglitiba-politikas-parskats-1991-2001>, (accessed 20 September 2019).